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HOCHELAGANS AND MOHAWKS

A LINK IN IROQUOIS HISTORY

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II. *Hochelagans and Mohawks; A Link in Iroquois History.*

By W. D. LIGHTHALL, M.A., F.R.S.L.

(Presented by John Reade and read May 26, 1899.)

The exact origin and first history of the race whose energy so stunted the growth of early Canada and made the cause of France in America impossible, have long been wrapped in mystery. In the days of the first white settlements the Iroquois are found leagued as the Five Nations in their familiar territory from the Mohawk River westward. Whence they came thither has always been a disputed question. The early Jesuits agreed that they were an off-shoot of the Huron race whose strongholds were thickly sown on the eastern shore of Lake Huron, but the Jesuits were not clear as to their course of migration from that region, it being merely remarked that they had once possessed some settlements on the St. Lawrence below Montreal, with the apparent inference that they had arrived at these by way of Lake Champlain. Later writers have drawn the same inference from the mention made to Cartier by the Hochelagans of certain enemies from the south whose name and direction had a likeness to later Iroquois conditions. Charlevoix was persuaded by persons who he considered had sufficiently studied the subject that their seats before they left for the country of the Five Nations were about Montreal. The late Horatio Hale[1] put the more recently current and widely accepted form of this view as follows: "The clear and positive traditions of all the surviving tribes, Hurons, Iroquois and Tuscaroras, point to the Lower St. Lawrence as the earliest known abode of their stock. Here the first explorer, Cartier, found Indians of this stock at Hochelaga and Stadacona, now the sites of Montreal and Quebec. Centuries before his time, according to the native tradition, the ancestors of the Huron-Iroquois family had dwelt in this locality, or still further east and nearer to the river's mouth. As the numbers increased, dissensions arose. The hive swarmed and band after band moved off to the west and south."

"Their first station on the south side of the lakes was at the mouth of the Oswego River.[2] Advancing to the southeast, the emigrants struck the River Hudson" and thence the ocean. "Most of them returned to the Mohawk River, where the Huron speech was altered to Mohawk. In Iroquois tradition and in the constitution of their League the Canienga (Mohawk) nation ranks as 'eldest brother' of the family. A comparison of the dialects proves this tradition to be well founded. The Canienga language approaches nearest to the Huron, and is undoubtedly the

[1] "Iroquois Book of Rites," p. 10.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

source from which all the other Iroquois dialects are derived. Cusick states positively that the other families, as he styles them, of the Iroquois household, leaving the Mohawks in their original abode, proceeded step by step to the westward. The Oneidas halted at their creek, the Onondagas at their mountain, the Cayugas at their lake and the Senecas or Sonontowans, the great hill people, at a lofty eminence which rises south of the Canandaigua Lake." Hale appeals also to the Wyandot tradition recorded by Peter Dooyentate Clark, that the Hurons originally lived about Montreal near the "Senecas," until war broke out and drove them westward. He sets the formation of the League of the Long House as far back as the fourteenth century.

All these authors, it will be seen, together with every historian who has referred to the League,—treat of the Five Nations *as always having been one people.* A very different view, based principally on archæology, has however been recently accepted by at least several of the leading authorities on the subject,—the view that the Iroquois League was a *compound of two distinct peoples,* the Mohawks, in the east, including the Oneidas; and the Senecas, in the west, including the Onondagas and Cayugas. Rev. W. M. Beauchamp, of Baldwinsville, the most thorough living student of the matter, first suggested a late date for the coming of the Mohawks and formation of the League. He had noticed that the three Seneca dialects differed very greatly from the two Mohawk, and that while the local relics of the former showed they had been long settled in their country, those of the latter evidenced a very recent occupation. He had several battles with Hale on the subject, the latter arguing chiefly from tradition and change of language. "The probability," writes Mr. Beauchamp—privately to the writer—"is that a division took place at Lake Erie, or perhaps further west; some passed on the north side and became the Neutrals and Hurons, *the vanguard becoming the Mohawks or Hochelagans, afterwards Mohawks and Oneidas.* Part went far south, as the Tuscaroras and Cherokees, and a more northern branch, the Andastes; part followed the south shore and became the Eriés, Senecas and Cayugas; part went to the east of Lake Ontario, removing and becoming the Onondagas, when the Huron war began."

It is noticeable that the earliest accounts of the Five Nations speak of them as of two kinds—Mohawks and "Sinnekes," or as termed by the French the Inferior and Superior Iroquois. For example Antony Van Corlear's *Journal,* edited by Gen. James Grant Wilson, also certain of the New York documents. The most thorough local student of early Mohawk town-sites, Mr. S. L. Frey, of Palatine Bridge, N.Y., supports Mr. Beauchamp in his view of the late coming of the Mohawks into the Mohawk River Valley, where they have always been settled in historic times. According to him, although these people changed their sites every 25 or 30 years from failure of the wood supply and other causes,

only four prehistoric sites have been discovered in that district, all the others containing relics of European origin. Mr. Beauchamp believes even this number too large. Both put forward the idea that the Mohawks were the ancient race of Hochelaga, whose town on the island of Montreal was visited by Jacques Cartier in 1535, and had disappeared completely in 1608 when Champlain founded Quebec. "What had become of these people?" writes Mr. Frey, in his pamphlet "The Mohawks." "An overwhelming force of wandering Algonquins had destroyed their towns. To what new land had they gone? I think we shall find them seated in the impregnable strongholds among the hills and in the dense forests of the Mohawk Valley."

It is my privilege to take up their theory from the Montreal end and in the light of the local archæology of this place and of early French historical lore, to supply links which seem to throw considerable light on the problem.

The description given by Cartier of the picturesque palisaded town of Hochelaga, situated near the foot of Mount Royal, surrounded by cornfields, has frequently been quoted. But other points of Cartier's narrative, concerning the numbers and relations of the population, have scarcely been studied. Let us examine this phase of it. During his first voyage in 1534, in the neighbourhood of Gaspé, he met on the water the first people speaking the tongue of this race, a temporary fishing community of over 200 souls, men, women and children, in some 40 canoes, under which they slept, having evidently no village there, but belonging, as afterwards is stated, to Stadacona. He seized and carried to France two of them, who, when he returned next year, called the place where they had been taken *Honguédo*, and said that the north shore, above Anticosti Island, was the commencement of inhabited country which led to *Canada* (the Quebec region), Hochelaga, (Montreal) and the country of *Saguenay*, far to the west "whence came the red copper" (of which axes have since been found in the débris of Hochelaga, and which, in fact, came from Lake Superior), and that no man they ever heard of had ever been to the end of the great river of fresh water above. Here we have the first indication of the racial situation of the Hochelagans. At the mouth of the Saguenay River—so called because it was one of the routes to the Saguenay of the Algonquins, west of the Upper Ottawa—he found four fishing canoes from Canada. Plenty of fishing was prosecuted from this point upwards. In "the Province of Canada," he proceeds, "there are several peoples in unwalled villages." At the Isle of Orleans, just below Quebec, the principal peace chief, or, Agouhanna of "Canada," Donnaconna, came to them with 12 canoes from the town (ville) of Stadacona, or Stadaconé, which was surrounded by tilled land on the heights. Twenty-five canoes from Stadacona afterwards visited them; and later Donnaconna brought on board "10 or 12 other of the greatest

chiefs" with more than 500 persons, men, women and children, some doubtless from the neighbouring settlements. If the same 200 persons as in the previous year were absent fishing at Gaspé, and others in other spots, these figures argue a considerable population.

Below Stadacona, were four "peoples and settlements": *Ajoasté*, *Starnatam*, *Tailla* (on a mountain) and *Satadin* or *Stadin*. Above *Stadacona* were *Tekenouday* (on a mountain) and *Hochelay* (*Achelacy* or *Hagouchouda*)[1] which was in open country. Further up were *Hochelaga* and some settlements on the island of Montreal, and various other places unobserved by Cartier, belonging to the same race; who according to a later statement of the remnant of them, confirmed by archæology, had several "towns" on the island of Montreal and inhabited "*all the hills to the south and east.*"[2] The hills to be seen from Mount Royal to the south are the northern slopes of the Adirondacks; while to the east are the lone volcanic eminences in the plain, Montarville, Belœil, Rougemont, Johnson, Yamaska, Shefford, Orford and the Green Mountains. All these hills deserve search for Huron-Iroquois town-sites. The general sense of this paragraph includes an implication also of settlements towards and on Lake Champlain, that is to say, when taken in connection with the landscape. (My own dwelling overlooks this landscape.) At the same time let me say that perhaps due inquiries might locate some of the sites of Ajoaste and the other villages in the Quebec district. In Cartier's third voyage he refers obscurely, in treating of Montreal, to "the said town of *Tutonaguy*." This word, with French pronunciation, appears to be the same as that still given by Mohawks to the Island,—*Tiotiaké*, meaning "deep water beside shallow," that is to say, "below the Rapid." In the so-called Cabot map of 1544 the name Hochelaga is replaced by "*Tutonaer*," apparently from some map of Cartier's. It may be a reproduction of some lost map of his. Lewis H. Morgan gives "Tiotiake" as "Do-de-a-ga." Another place named by Cartier is *Maisouna*, to which the chief of Hochelay had been gone two days when the explorer made his settlement a visit. On a map of Ortelius of 1556 quoted by Parkman this name appears to be given as Muscova, a district placed on the right bank of the Richelieu River and opposite Hochelay, but possibly this is a pure guess, though it is a likely one. It may perhaps be conjectured that Stadacona, Tailla and Tekenouday, being on heights, were the oldest strongholds in their region.

All the country was covered with forests "except around the peoples, who cut it down to make their settlement and tillage." At Stadacona

[1] The latter I conjecture not to be the real name of the place but that the Stadacona people had referred to Hochelay as "Agojûda" or wicked. The chief of Hochelay on one occasion warned Cartier of plots at Stadacona, and there appears to have been some antagonism between the places. The Hochelay people seem to have been Hochelagans proper not Stadacona Hochelagans. Hochelay-aga could mean "people of Hochelay."

[2] Relation of 1642.

he was shown five scalps of a race called *Toudamans* from the south, with whom they were constantly at war, and who had killed about 200 of their people at Massacre Island, Bic, in a cave, while they were on the way to Honguédo to fish. All these names must of course be given the old French pronunciation.

Proceeding up the river near Hochelaga he found "a great number of dwellings along the shore" inhabited by fisherfolk, as was the custom of the Huron-Iroquois in the summer season. The village called Hochelay was situated about forty-five miles above Stadacona, at the Richelieu rapid, between which and Hochelaga, a distance of about 135 miles, he mentions no village. This absence of settlements I attribute to the fact that the intermediate Three-Rivers region was an ancient special appurtenance of the Algonquins, with whom the Hochelagans were to all appearance then on terms of friendly sufferance and trade, if not alliance. In later days the same region was uninhabited, on account of Iroquois incursions by the River Richelieu and Lake Champlain. In the islands at the head of Lake St. Peter, Cartier met five hunters who directed him to Hochelaga. "More than a thousand" persons, he says, received them with joy at Hochelaga. This expression of number however is not very definite. It is frequently used by Dante to signify a multitude in the *Divina Comédia*. The town of Hochelaga consisted of "about fifty houses, in length about fifty paces each at most, and twelve or fifteen paces wide," made of bark on sapling frames in the manner of the Iroquois long houses. The round "fifties" are obviously approximate. The plan of the town given in Ramusio shows some forty-five fires, each serving some five families, but the interior division differs so greatly from that of early Huron and Iroquois houses, and from his phrase "fifty by twelve or fifteen," that it appears to be the result of inaccurate drawing. There is therefore considerable room for difference as to the population of the town, ranging from say 1,200 to 2,000 souls, the verbal description which is much the more authoritative, inclining in favour of the latter. Any estimate of the total population of the Hochelagan race on the river, must be a guess. If, however, those on the island of Montreal be set at 2,000, and the "more than 500" of Stadacona be considered as a fair average for the principal town and 300 (which also was the average estimated by Père Lalemant for the Neutral nation) as an average for the eight or so villages of the Quebec district, (the absentees, such as the 200 at Gaspé from Stadacona being perhaps offset by contingents from the places close to Stadacona) we have some 4,900 accounted for. Those on all the hills to the south and east of Mount Royal would add anywhere from say 3,000 to an indefinitely greater number more. Perhaps 5,000, however, should not be exceeded as the limit for these hills and Lake Champlain. We arrive therefore at a guess of from 7,900 to 9,900 as the total. As the lower figures seem conservative, compared with the

early average of Huron and Iroquois villages, the guess may perhaps be raised a little to say from 10,000 to 11,000. "This people confines itself to tillage and fishing, for they do not leave their country and are not migratory like those of Canada and Saguenay, although the said Canadians are subject to them, *with eight or nine other peoples who are on the said river.*" Nevertheless the site of Hochelaga, unearthed in 1860, shows them to have been *traders* to some extent with the west, evidently through the Ottawa Algonquins. What Cartier did during his brief visit to the town itself is well known. The main point for us is that three men led him to the top of Mount Royal and showed him the country. They told him of the Ottawa River and of three great rapids in the St. Lawrence, after passing which, "one could sail more than three moons along the said river," doubtless meaning along the Great Lakes. Silver and brass they identified as coming from that region, and "there were Agojudas, or wicked people, armed even to the fingers," of whom they showed "the make of their armor, which is of cords and wood laced and woven together; giving to understand that the said Agojudas are continually at war with one and other." This testimony clearly describes the armour of the early Hurons and Iroquois[1] as found by Champlain, and seems to relate to war between the Hurons and Senecas at that period and to an aversion to them by the people of the town of Hochelaga themselves; who were, however, living in security from them at the time, apparently cut off from regular communication with them by Algonquin peoples, particularly those of the Ottawa, who controlled Huron communication with the lower St. Lawrence in the same way in Champlain's days.

On returning to Stadacona, Cartier, by talking with Donnaconna, learnt what showed this land of Saguenay so much talked of by these people, to be undoubtedly the Huron country. "The straight and good and safest road to it is by the *Fleuve* (St. Lawrence) to above Hochelaga and by the river which descends from the said Saguenay and enters the said Fleuve (as we had seen); and thence it takes a month to reach." This is simply the Ottawa route to Lake Huron used by the Jesuits in the next century. What they had seen was the Ottawa River entering the St. Lawrence—from the top of Mount Royal, whence it is visible today. The name Saguenay may possibly be *Saginaw*,—the old *Saguenam*, the "very deep bay on the west shore of Lake Huron," of Charlevoix, (Book XI.) though it is not necessarily Saginaw Bay itself, as such names shift. And they gave to understand that in that country the people are clothed with clothes like us, and *there are many peoples in town* and *good persons* and that they have a great quantity of gold and of *red copper*. And they told us that *all the land from the said first river to Hochelaga*

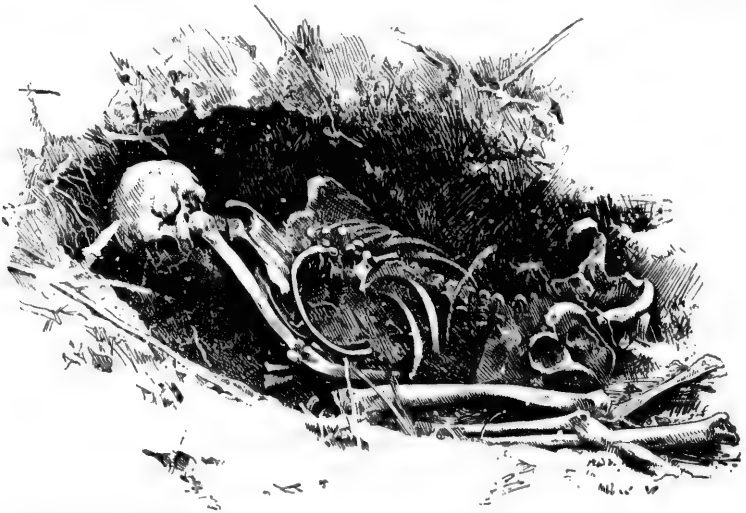
[1] Similar armour, though highly elaborated, is to be seen in the suits of Japanese warriors, made of cords and lacquered wood woven together.

and Saguenay is an island surrounded by streams and the said great river (St. Lawrence); and that after passing Saguenay, said river (Ottawa) enters *two or three great lakes of water, very large; after which* a *fresh water sea is reached,* whereof there is no mention of having seen the end, *as they have heard from those of the Saguenay; for they told us they had never been there themselves.*" Yet later, in chapter XIX., it is stated that old Donnaconna assured them he had been in the land of the Saguenay, where he related several impossible marvels, such as people of only one leg. It is to be noted that "the peoples in towns," who are apparently Huron-Iroquois, are here referred to as "good people," while the Hochelagans speak of them as "wicked." This is explicable enough as a difference of view on distant races with whom they had no contact. It seems to imply that the "Canada" people were not in such close communication with the town of Hochelaga as to have the same opinions and perhaps the Canada view of the Hurons as good persons was the original view of the early settlers, while the Hochelagans may have had unpleasant later experiences or echo those of the Ottawa Algonquins. But furthermore they told him of the Richelieu River where apparently it took a month to go with their canoes from Sainte Croix (Stadacona) to a country "where there are never ice nor snow; but where there are constant wars one against another, and there are oranges, almonds, nuts, plums, and other kinds of fruit in great abundance, and oil is made from trees, very good for the cure of diseases; there the inhabitants are clothed and accoutred in skins like themselves." This land Cartier considered to be Florida,—but the point for our present purpose is the frequenting of the Richelieu, Lake Champlain and lands far south of them by the Hochelagans at that period. At the beginning of the seventeenth century Capt. John Smith met the canoes of an Iroquois people on the upper part of Chesapeake Bay.

We may now draw some conclusions. Originaliy the population of the St. Lawrence valley seems to have been occupied by Algonquins, as these people surrounded it on all sides. A question I would like to see investigated is whether any of these built villages and grew corn here, as did some of the Algonquins of the New England coast and those of Allumette Island on the Ottawa. This might explain some of the deserted Indian clearings which the early Jesuits noted along the shore of the river, and of which Champlain, in 1611, used one of about 60 acres at Place Royale, Montreal. Cartier, it is seen, expressly explains some of them to be Huron-Iroquois clearings cultivated under his own observation. The known Algonquins of the immediate region were all nomadic.

In 1534 we have, from below Stadacona (Quebec) to above Hochelaga (Montreal), and down the Richelieu River to Lake Champlain, the valley in possession of a Huron-Iroquois race, dominated by

Hochelaga, a town of say 2,000 souls, judging from the Huron average and from Cartier's details. The descendants of the Hochelagans in 1642 pointed out the spots where there were "several towns" on the island. Mr. Beauchamp holds, with Parkman, Dawson and other writers, that "those who pointed out spots in 1642 were of an *Algonquin* tribe, not descendants of the Mohawk Hochelagans, but locally their successors." But I cannot accept this Algonquin theory, as their connection with the Hochelagans is too explicit and I shall give other reasons further on. The savages, it is true, called the island by an Algonquin name; "the island where there was a city or village,"[1] the Algonquin



SHALLOW GRAVE IN PREHISTORIC BURYING-GROUND AT WESTMOUNT ON MOUNT ROYAL SHOWING ATTITUDE OF SEPULTURE.

phrase for which was Minitik-Outen-Hotagougibe, but these later terms have small bearing. The site of one of the towns on the island is conjectured, from the finding of relics, to have been at Longue Pointe, nine miles below Hochelaga; a village appears from Cartier's account of his third voyage to have existed about the Lachine Rapids; and another was some miles below, probably at Point St. Charle or the Little River at Verdun. Fourteen skeletons, buried after the Mohawk fashion, have been discovered on the upper slope of Westmount, the southern ridge of Mount Royal, about a mile from Hochelaga, and not far from an old Indian well, indicating possibly the proximity of another pre-historic town-site of the race, and at any rate a burying ground. The identification and

[1] Relation of 1642, p. 36.

excavations were made by the writer. If, however, the southern enemies, called Toudamans, five of whose scalps were shown Cartier at Stadacona, were, as one conjecture has it, Tonontouans or Senecas, the Iroquois identity theory must be varied, but it is much more likely the Toudamans were the Etchemins. At any rate it seems clear that the Hochelagan race came down the St. Lawrence as a spur (probably an adventurous fishing party) from the great Huron-Iroquois centre about Lake Huron[1]; for that their advent had been recent appears from the fewness of sites discovered, from the smallness of the population, considering the richness of the country, and especially from the fact that the Huron, and the Seneca, and their own, tongues were still mutually comprehensible, notwithstanding the rapid changes of Indian dialects. Everything considered, their coming might perhaps be placed about 1450, which could give time for the settlements on Lake Champlain, unearthed by Dr. D. S. Kellogg and others and rendered probable by their pottery and other evidence as being Huron-Iroquois.[2] Cartier, as we have seen, described the Hochelagan towns along the river.

The likeness of the names Tekenouday and Ajoasté to that of the Huron town Tekenonkiaye, and the Andastean Andoasté, shows how close was the relationship. Nevertheless the Hochelagans were quite cut off from the Hurons, whose country as we have found, some of them point to and describe to Cartier as inhabited by evil men. As the Stadacona people, more distant, independently refer to them as good, no war could have been then proceeding with them.

In 1540 when Roberval came—and down to 1543—the conditions were still unchanged. What of the events between this date and the coming of Champlain in 1605? This period can be filled up to some extent.

About 1560 the Hurons came down, conquered the Hochelagans and their subject peoples and destroyed Hochelaga. I reach this date as

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[1] Two of the Huron nations settled in Canada West about 1400; another about 1590; the fourth in 1610. See Relations,—W. M. Beauchamp.

[2] Dr. Kellogg, whose collection is very large and his studies valuable, writes me as follows: "In 1886 Mr. Frey sent me a little box of Indian pottery from his vicinity (the Mohawk Valley). It contained chiefly edge pieces of jars, whose ornamentation outside near the top was in *lines*, and nearly every one of these pieces also had the *deep finger nail indentation*. I spread these out on a board. Many had also the small circle ornamentation, made perhaps by the end of a hollow bone This pottery I have always called Iroquois. At two sites near Plattsburg this type prevails. But otherwise whenever we have found this type we have looked on it curiously. It is *not* the type prevailing here. The type here has ornamentations consisting of dots and dotted lines, dots in lines, scallop stamps, etc. These dots on a single jar are hundreds and perhaps thousands in number. Even in Vermont the Iroquois type is abundant. This confirms what Champlain's Indian friends told him about the country around the mountains in the east (i. e. in Vermont) being occupied by their enemies. . . . The pottery here indicates a much closer relation with that at Hochelaga than with that at Palatine Bridge (Mohawk Valley, N.Y.)

follows: In 1646 (Relation of 1646, p. 34) Père Lalemant reports that "under the Algonquin name" the French included "a diversity of small peoples," one of which was named the Onontchataronons or "the tribe of Iroquet," "whose ancestors formerly inhabited the island of Montreal," and one of their old men "aged say eighty years" said "my mother told me that in her youth *the Hurons* drove us from this island." (1646, p. 40.) This makes it clear that the inroad was *Huron*. Note that this man of eighty years does not mention having *himself* lived on the island; and also the addition "*in her youth*." This fact brings us back to before 1566. But in 1642, another "old man" states that his "grandfathers" had lived there. Note that he does not say his parents nor himself. These two statements, I think, reasoning from the average ages of old men, carry us back to about 1550-60. Champlain, in 1622, notes a remark of two Iroquois that the war with the Hurons was then "more than fifty years" old. The Huron inroad could not likely have occurred for several years after 1542, for so serious an incursion would have taken some years to grow to such a point out of profound peace. 1550 would therefore appear a little early. The facts demonstrate incidentally a period of prosperity and dominance on the part of the Hurons themselves, for instead of a mere incursion, it exhibits, even if made by invitation of the Algonquins, a permanent breaking through of the barriers between the Huron country and the Montreal neighbourhood, and a continuance of their power long enough and sufficiently to press forward against the enemy even into Lake Champlain. It also shows that the Superior Iroquois were not then strong enough to confine them. Before the League, the latter were only weak single tribes. When Dutch firearms were added to the advantage of the league, the Hurons finally fell from their power, which was therefore apparently at its height about 1560.

Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, end of Bk. V., after describing the first mass at Ville Marie, in 1642, says: "The evening of the same day M. de Maisonneuve desired to visit the Mountain which gave the island its name, and two old Indians who accompanied him thither, having led him to the top, told him they were of the tribe who had formerly inhabited this country." "We were," they added, "*very numerous* and all the hills (*collines*) which you see to the south and east, were peopled. The Hurons drove thence our ancestors, of whom a part took refuge among the Abénakis, *others withdrew into the Iroquois cantons*, a few remained with our conquerors." They promised Maisonneuve to do all they could to bring back their people, "but apparently could not succeed in reassembling the fragments of this dispersed tribe, which doubtless is that of the Iroquois of which I have spoken in my *Journal*."

A proof that this people of Iroquet were not originally Algonquins is that by their own testimony they had cultivated the ground,

One of them actually took up a handful of the soil and called attention to its goodness; and they also directly connected themselves in a positive manner with the Hochelagans by the dates and circumstances indicated in their remarks as above interpreted. The use of the term "Algonquin" concerning them is very ambiguous and as they were merged among Algonquin tribes they were no doubt accustomed to use that language. Their Huron-Iroquois name, the fact that they were put forward to interpret to the Iroquois in Champlain's first excursion; and that a portion of them had joined the Iroquois, another portion the Hurons, and the rest remained a little band by themselves, seem to add convincingly to the proof that they were not true Algonquins. Their two names "Onontchataronons" and "Iroquet" are Iroquois. The ending "Onons" (Onwe) means "men" and is not properly part of the name. Charlevoix thought them Hurons, from their name. They were a very small band and, while mentioned several times in the Jesuit Relations, had disappeared by the end of the seventeenth century from active history. It was doubtless impossible for a remnant so placed to maintain themselves against the great Iroquois war parties.

A minor question to suggest itself is whether there is any connection between the names "Iroquet" and "Iroquois". Were they originally forms of the same word? Or were they two related names of divisions of a people? Certainly two closely related peoples have these closely similar names. They were as clearly used as names of distinct tribes however, in the seventeenth century. The derivation of "Iroquois" given by Charlevoix from "hiro"—"I have spoken" does not seem at all likely; but the analogy of the first syllables of the names Er-ié, Hur-ons, Hir-oquois, Ir-oquet and Cherokee may have something in it.

The Iroquets or Hochelagans attributed their great disaster,—the destruction of their towns and dispossession of their island,—to the Hurons, but Charlevoix[1] records an Algonquin victory over them which seems to have preceded, and contributed to, that event, though the lateness of Charlevoix renders the story not so reliable in detail as the personal recollections of the Iroquets above given: His story[2] given "on the authority of those most versed in the old history of the country", proceeds as follows: "Some Algonquins were at war with the Onontcharonnons better known under the name of Tribe of Iroquet, and whose former residence was, it is said, in the Island of Montreal. The name they bear proclaims, they were of Huron speech; nevertheless it is claimed that it was the Hurons who drove them from their ancient country, and who in part destroyed them. However that may be, they were at the time I speak of, at war with the Algonquins, who, to finish this war at one stroke, thought of a stratagem, which succeeded". This stratagem was an

[1] Journal, Vol. I., pp. 162-4.
[2] Journal Historique d'un Voyage à L'Am., Lettre VI.

ambush placed on both sides of the River Bécancour near Three Rivers, with some pretended fishermen out in canoes as decoys. The Iroquets attacked and pursued the fishermen, but in the moment of victory, a hail of arrows issued from the bushes along both shores. Their canoes being pierced, and the majority wounded, they all perished. "The tribe of Iroquet never recovered from this disaster; and none to-day remain. The quantity of corpses in the water and on the banks of the river so infected it, that it retains the name of Rivière Puante"; (Stinking River).

Charlevoix[1] gives, as well supported, the story of the origin of the war between the Iroquois and Algonquins. "The Iroquois had made with them a sort of alliance very useful to both." They gave grain for game and armed aid, and thus both lived long on good terms. At last a disagreement rose in a joint party of 12 young hunters, on account of the Iroquois succeeding while the Algonquins failed in the chase. The Algonquins, therefore, maliciously tomahawked the Iroquois in their sleep. Thence arose the war.

In 1608, according to Ferland[2] based evidently upon the statement of Champlain, the remnant of the Hochelagans left in Canada occupied the triangle above Montreal now bounded by Vaudreuil, Kingston and Ottawa. This perhaps indicates it as the upper part of their former territory. Sanson's map places them at about the same part of the Ottawa in the middle of the seventeenth century and identifies them with La Petite Nation, giving them as "Onontcharonons ou La Petite Nation". That remnant accompanied Champlain against the Iroquois, being of course under the influence of their masters the Hurons and Algonquins. Doubtless their blood is presently represented among the Huron and Algonquin mission Indians of Oka, Lorette, Petite Nation, etc., and perhaps among those of Caughnawaga and to some extent, greater or less, among the Six Nations proper.

From the foregoing outline of their history, it does not appear as if the Hochelagans were exactly the Mohawks proper. It seems more likely that by 1560, settlements, at first mere fishing-parties, then fishing-villages, and later more developed strongholds with agriculture, had already been made on Lake Champlain by independent offshoots of the Hochelagan communities, of perhaps some generations standing, and not unlikely by arrangement with the Algonquins of the Lake similar to the understanding on the river St. Lawrence, as peace and travel appear to have existed there. The bonds of confederacy between village and village were always shifting and loose among these races until the Great League. To their Lake Champlain cousins the Hochelagans would naturally fly for refuge in the day of defeat, for there was no other direction suitable for their retreat. The Hurons and Algonquins carried on the war against the

[1] Journal, end of Letter XII.
[2] Hist. du Canada, Vol. I., p. 92.

fused peoples, down into Lake Champlain. When, after more than fifty years of the struggle, Champlain goes down to that Lake in 1609, he finds there the clearings from which they have been driven, and marks their cabins on his map of the southeast shore. This testimony is confirmed by that of archæology showing their movement at the same period into the Mohawk Valley. Doubtless their grandchildren among the Iroquois, like their grandchildren among the Algonquins, remembered perfectly well the fact of their Huron and Algonquin wrongs, and led many a war party back to scenes known to them through tradition, and which it was their ambition to recover. It seems then to be the fact that the Mohawks proper, or some of their villages, while perhaps not exactly Hochelagans, were part of the kindred peoples recently sprung from and dominated by them and were driven out at the same time. The two peoples—Mohawks and Iroquets—had no great time before, if not at the time of Cartier's arrival—been one race living together in the St. Lawrence valley: In the territory just west of the Mohawk valley, they found the "Senecas" as the Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas together were at first called, and soon, through the genius of the Mohawk Hiawatha, they formed with them the famous League, in the face of the common enemy. By that time the Oneidas had become separated from the Mohawks. These indications place the date of the League very near 1600. The studies of Dr. Kellogg of Plattsburgh on the New York side of Lake Champlain and of others on the Vermont shore, who have discovered several Mohawk sites on that side of the lake may be expected to supply a link of much interest on the whole question, from the comparison of pottery and pipes. On the whole the Hochelagan facts throw much light both forward on the history of the Iroquois and backwards on that of the Huron stock. Interpreted as above, they afford a meagre but connected story through a period hitherto lost in darkness, and perhaps a ray by which further links may still be discovered through continued archæological investigation.

NOTE. Like the numbers of the Hochelagan race, the question how long they had been in the St. Lawrence valley must be problematical. Sir William Dawson describes the site of Hochelaga as indicating a residence of several generations. Their own statements regarding the Huron country—that they "had never been there", and that they gathered their knowledge of it from the Ottawa Algonquins, permits some deductions. If the Hochelagans—including their old men—had never been westward among their kindred, it is plain that the migration must have taken place more than the period of an old man's life previous—that is to say more than say eighty years. If to this we add that the old men appear not even to have derived such knowledge as they possessed from their parents but from strangers, then the average full life of aged parents should be added, or say sixty years more, making a total of at least one hundred and forty years since the immigration. Something might, it is true, be allowed for a sojourn at intermediate points: and the scantiness of the remarks is also to be remembered. But there remains to account for the considerable population which had grown up in the land from apparently one centre. If the original intruders were four hundred, for example, then in doubling every twenty years, they would number 12,800 in a century. But this rate is higher than their state of "Middle Barbarism" is likely to have permitted and a hundred and fifty years would seem to be as fast as they could be expected to attain the population they possessed in Cartier's time.